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ABSTRACT

A 120-item questionnaire was administered to 750 Irish adolescents, aged 12-17. It measured sex differences in the following variables: academic achievement; educational and occupational aspiration; self-assessment of achievement; assertiveness; and stereotypes toward adult roles and three achievement-related traits (striving, competence, and independence). Findings indicated that: (1) girls, as a total sample and by social class, achieved higher grades than boys; (2) grades declined with age for both sexes; (3) educational aspiration reflected occupational choice rather than aspired level of schooling; (4) adolescents perceived similar educational expectations from both parents, but contrary to parents' expectations, many girls aspired to postsecondary education; (5) neither girls nor boys downgraded their achievement; (6) non-assertive behavior was associated with low grades for both sexes and for most females; (7) over 60% of both sexes had stereotyped perceptions of achievement-related traits; and (8) boys were more likely than girls to perceive stereotyped adult sex roles. It was concluded that the achievement and sex role development of Irish youth were similar to their American counterparts. (CP)

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SEX ROLE DEVELOPMENT AND ACHIEVEMENT OF ADOLESCENTS IN IRELAND

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Sex Role Development and Achievement of Adolescents in Ireland

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A pervading theme in discussions of the achievement of American males and females is the decline of achievement of girls beginning with puberty. Among the reasons given for underachievement in females are socialization patterns, sex role identification, conflicting motives of achievement versus affiliation drives, and the perception of adult models and values. As sex role development is dependent upon one's socialization into society, we naturally expect that adolescent development and achievement in Ireland will reflect Irish roles for men and women. Irish society is a male-dominated one where women fill traditional family roles to a larger extent than in the United States and most European nations. This analysis should enlighten us as to the dynamics of sex role development during adolescence.

Conformity to the female sex role has been related to internalization of low expectations for individual achievement in American girls (Stein and Bailey, 1973; Lavach and Lanier, 1975). In a study of 10 to 16 year olds, Lambert (1971) found that girls who respond in traditional sex role stereotypes have poorer academic performance. Furthermore, the relationship between poor achievement and high sex role differentiation was stronger for the older females, but not the older males, in the study. "Stereotypes serve as standards for evaluating conformity or deviance from the appropriate sex group (Guttentag, 1974, p.3)." In the search

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for selfhood, the adolescent must integrate perceptions of the adult society into his identity. We add to this view the phenomenological perspective in which the adolescents' definition of their situation will result in behavioral consequences, as suggested in the writings of W. I. Thomas (1928).

In Ireland, social norms, religion and the legal system enforce a traditional dichotomy of male and female roles. Even the Irish Constitution has a statement about the place of women in the family and not the world of work. "Legal restrictions and religious tradition impose second-class citizenship on women from birth (O'Hanlon, 1975, p.202)." Forty years ago, Arensberg and Kimbell wrote, "the wife's activities are limited almost entirely to the confines of the dwelling and to the family (1968, p.372)." While there has been some change in role structure (Hannon, 1973; 1978), today O'Hanlon writes, "the woman's place is either in the kitchen or in the pregnancy ward (1975, p.204)." It is only in the last few years that women who married have not been dismissed from the Civil Service. A striking figure is that only 6% of married women work outside the home, the same proportion today as fifty years ago (Census of the Population, 1966). Females comprise a quarter of the work force in Ireland, lowest in the European economic community. Women are subservient to their husbands in the family setting and face overwhelming obstacles in the occupational world (Connery, 1968). Of course, this differentiation of tasks implies reciprocal roles on the part of males. It is the influence of the dominant male and traditionally oriented family role for women as it impinges upon adolescent sex role socialization and achievement that is of ultimate concern in this investigation.

METHOD

A 120-item questionnaire was administered to 750 students in eight schools in Cork County, Ireland in May, 1977. The sample was drawn from both co-educational and single-sex schools. An Irish sociologist assisted in adapting the terminology of a questionnaire that had previously been used in a survey of 3000 American youth. A pilot study in Ireland was carried out after this revision and before the final survey. Schools were also chosen to represent rural and urban settings. The following table shows the age and sex distribution of the sample.

DISTRIBUTION OF IRISH SAMPLE

AGE	MALES	FEMALES
12-13 years	19	65
14 years	54	96
15 years	53	84
16 years	68	95
17+ years	70	103

FOR PURPOSES OF A CROSS-CULTURAL ANALYSIS, DATA FROM THE SAMPLE OF 3000 AMERICAN STUDENTS IS PRESENTED IN THE APPENDIX OF THIS PAPER.

The purpose of Table 1 is to show sex differences in the school achievement of Irish youth along with age differences. The scores represent average marks based on the Irish marking system. As a total, females achieve significantly higher in school than do males ($t = 3.56$, $p < .001$). The gap between Irish girls and boys does narrow, though, as the youth age. There is also a general decline in achievement, as measured by school marks, for both sexes as the children age.

TABLE 1

School Achievement by Sex and Age*

AGE	MALES	FEMALES
12-13 years	5.4	6.0
14 years	5.1	5.7
15 years	4.9	5.0
16 years	5.2	5.0
17+ years	4.7	5.1
TOTAL	5.0	5.3

*Scale for grades:

1 - Mostly below 30%
2 - Mostly 30-39%
3 - Mostly 40-49%
4 - Mostly 50-59%
5 - Mostly 60-69%
6 - Mostly 70% or more

Figure 2 shows the average achievement of Irish males and females according to the social class of their families (based upon father's occupation). Females are superior to males in average achievement in each

TABLE 2

School Achievement by Sex and Social Class

FATHER'S OCCUPATIONAL CLASS	MALES	(n)	FEMALES	(n)
Lower Working Class	5.0	(25)	5.3	(59)
Upper Working Class	5.1	(68)	5.5	(133)
Lower Middle Class	4.8	(47)	5.2	(76)
Farm Owners	5.2	(18)	5.3	(81)
Middle Middle Class	5.2	(44)	5.5	(22)
Upper Middle and Upper Class	5.2	(9)	5.5	(13)

occupational class. While the higher class status is generally associated with greater achievement, the pattern is not as dramatic as one might expect according to the literature on social class. Social class status appears to have little influence on the achievement of Irish girls during adolescence.

The students were asked, "How far do you actually expect to go in your schooling?" Alternatives along with the frequency of responses are shown in Table 3. It is clear that teaching and nursing (asked separately on the questionnaire) are considered by the Irish youth as occupations for females while males are more oriented toward technical and business occupations.

TABLE 3

Educational Expectations by Sex

EXPECTATION LEVEL	MALES	FEMALES
Do not expect to finish secondary school	13%	10%
Pass leaving certificate (graduate)	35%	28%
Technical or business training after sec. school	22%	13%
Train for nursing or teaching	3%	32%
Get university degree	27%	16%

The sex difference in obtaining a university degree may be because the training of Irish teachers does not include such a degree. This strong connection between educational and occupational goals is not apparent in the sample of American youth because of the difference in educational structures in the two societies.

TABLE 4

Perception of Parental Educational Expectations

How far does your father actually expect you to go in school?

EXPECTATION LEVEL	Males	Females
Does not expect me to finish secondary school	11%	6%
Pass leaving certificate (graduate)	35%	43%
Technical or business training after sec. school	19%	12%
Train for nursing or teaching	3%	19%
Get university degree	31%	20%

How far does your mother actually expect you to go in school?

EXPECTATION LEVEL	Males	Females
Does not expect me to finish secondary school	10%	7%
Pass leaving certificate (graduate)	39%	43%
Technical or business training after sec. school	20%	11%
Train for nursing or teaching	3%	22%
University degree	28%	17%

The adolescents were asked how far their fathers and mothers expected them to go in their schooling. The responses, shown in Table 4, indicate that Irish youth see their parents as similar in the educational expectations they have. The expectations of the boys are fairly close to the level they report their parents as having. In contrast, many girls expect to go for training as nurses or teachers while their parents appear to expect them to end their education after graduating from secondary school. Girls also report planning to graduate from secondary school to a greater degree than their parents expect. This discrepancy between girls' expectations and the apparent messages from parents

needs further investigation in terms of actual achievement levels for the Irish females. Perhaps the young Irish female is striving for greater independence than is desired by her more traditional parents.

There is some suggestion in the literature that cultural values on achievement may result in females deprecating their achievement while males may tend to inflate their self-evaluations. We might expect this pattern of sex differences to appear as adolescents age and come closer to fulfilling adult roles. Students were asked, "How good are you at schoolwork?" Alternative answers were 'not good at all,' 'fair,' 'good,' 'very good,' and 'excellent.' Overall, Irish girls have a higher self-assessment of their school performance than do their male counterparts. This is consistent with the superior grade averages of the girls. In order to measure the degree of accuracy of self-assessment, responses to the question on self-

TABLE 5

Self-assessment of Achievement

Correlations of Self-assessment with School Marks by Sex and Age.

AGE	MALES	FEMALES
12-13 years	.45	.53
14 years	.54	.59
15 years	.72	.54
16 years	.71	.45
17+ years	.35	.62
TOTAL SAMPLE	.56	.56

Average Self-assessment

Males: 2.7 Females: 2.9
$t = 2.87$, $p < .005$

assessment were correlated with grades. The age group and sex analysis is shown in Table 5. Girls are more accurate during the youngest and oldest years while boys are more accurate in self-appraisal during the middle years of the sample. While there is much variation in the correlations, no pattern with respect to age or sex is apparent. Overall, the correlations for males and females are the same.

Students were asked to indicate the frequency with which they engaged in non-assertive behavior. The questions were:

> How often are you too shy to raise your hand when you know the answer?
>
> How often do you act dumber than you really are?
>
> How often do you give up without really trying very hard?

Alternative answers ranged from 'never' to 'often.' Table 6 indicates that non-assertive behavior is associated with poorer school performance for both sexes. The sex differences in these relationships are very slight.

TABLE 6

Correlations of Non-assertive Behavior with Marks

BEHAVIOR	MALES	FEMALES
Too shy to raise hand when knows answer	-.17***	-.15****
Act dumber than you really are	-.16***	-.12**
Give up without really trying hard	-.26****	-.20****

*p < .05
**p < .01
***p < .005
****p < .001

Combining the three items into one scale of non-assertiveness, we find that non-assertiveness increases for both sexes as the adolescents grow older (Table 7). Girls indicate more non-assertive behavior than do boys,

TABLE 7

Non-Assertive Behavior by Sex and Age
(average of 3-item scale)

AGE	MALES	FEMALES	t - value	significance
12-14 years	5.1	5.4	1.06	n.s.
15-16 years	5.5	6.2	3.10	$p < .005$
17+ years	5.9	6.5	2.24	$p < .05$

significantly so in the two older age groups. This would support the idea that the girls are being socialized into a non-assertive adult role for females. The pattern, however, contrasts with the data for the American sample where non-assertive behavior increases as adolescent boys age but remains fairly consistent for the adolescent girls.

In order to measure stereotypic thinking, students were asked if the following traits were 'a lot more like a boy,' 'a little more like a boy,' 'a lot more like a girl,' 'a little more like a girl,' or 'like both equally.'

'tries to do better than other people' (striving)
'is generally better at doing things' (competence)
'does things without asking for help' (independence)

For ease of analysis here, responses were combined into three categories. Table 8 shows that 60% to 70% of the students stereotype when responding to these items. Irish boys are more likely than girls to stereotype, but both sexes tend to attribute these achievement traits to males rather than females.

TABLE 8

Response Frequencies for Stereotypic Thinking Items by Sex

		More Like a Boy	Like Both Equally	More Like a Girl
STRIVING				
	MALES	40%	35%	25%
	FEMALES	37%	37%	27%
COMPETENCE				
	MALES	53%	31%	16%
	FEMALES	31%	43%	27%
INDEPENDENCE				
	MALES	68%	21%	11%
	FEMALES	63%	28%	10%

There appears to be much consensus that girls are more dependent than boys.

With the idea that stereotypic thinking would change as students are socialized during the adolescent stage, the responses to the stereotypic thinking items were analyzed by age as well as sex. Few trends are revealed in Table 9 that would indicate a pattern with respect to age. For American girls, stereotypic thinking declines with age.

We have used the term stereotypic thinking here to describe the assign- of characteristics to <u>either</u> males or females based on membership to that particular group rather than viewing traits as belonging to individuals. The tables, however, also indicate the degree of acceptance of <u>traditional</u> views of achievement being related to one's gender.

TABLE 9

Response Frequencies for Stereotypic Thinking Items by Sex and Age

	More Like a Boy	Like Both Equally	More Like a Girl
STRIVING			
MALES			
12-14 years	41%	31%	28%
15-16 years	36%	39%	25%
17+ years	45%	31%	24%
FEMALES			
12-14 years	36%	37%	27%
15-16 years	40%	34%	26%
17+ years	29%	42%	29%
COMPETENCE			
MALES			
12-14 years	69%	23%	8%
15-16 years	46%	34%	19%
17+ years	49%	35%	16%
FEMALES			
12-14 years	35%	42%	23%
15-16 years	27%	44%	30%
17+ years	33%	41%	26%
INDEPENDENCE			
MALES			
12-14 years	69%	23%	9%
15-16 years	65%	26%	9%
17+ years	70%	11%	18%
FEMALES			
12-14 years	58%	33%	10%
15-16 years	68%	22%	11%
17+ years	65%	28%	6%

Attitudes toward adult roles were investigated with the following agree/disagree questions:

> It's still best for a man to earn the money for his family, and for a women to stay home and take care of her family.
>
> Women's work and men's work should be different in nature.
>
> Mothers should work only if their family needs the money.

Students answered 'strongly disagree,' 'disagree,' 'agree,' and 'strongly agree.' The higher the average score in Table 10, the greater agreement with these statements. With the exception of the youngest age group, Irish boys are significantly more traditional in their views of adult roles. This pattern is largely due to the more traditional views of the the younger Irish

TABLE 10

Attitudes Toward Adult Roles
by Sex and Age

(averages)

	MALES	FEMALES	t - value	significance
"Best for a man to earn money and woman to take care of family"				
12-14 years	2.9	3.0	0.56	n.s.
15-16 years	3.0	2.6	3.62	$p < .001$
17+ years	2.8	2.7	0.66	n.s.
"Women's work and men's work should be different in nature."				
12-14 years	2.5	2.4	1.40	n.s.
15-16 years	2.6	2.2	4.10	$p < .001$
17+ years	2.6	2.2	3.56	$p < .001$
"Mothers should work only if their family needs the money."				
12-14 years	2.9	3.1	1.18	n.s.
15-16 years	3.0	2.7	1.89	$p < .05$
17+ years	2.9	2.7	1.62	$p < .05$

girls. On the average, the views of Irish boys are fairly consistent throughout adolescence. While Irish adolescents are more traditional in their views than American youth, there is less difference in the attitudes of Irish girls and boys. That is, there is greater agreement among Irish adolescents as to the adult roles of men and women with respect to working and family responsibilities.

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

1. Irish girls achieve significantly higher grades than do boys. Average grades decline for both sexes as the youth age though achievement continues to be superior for girls.
2. Irish girls achieve better than their male counterparts in each social class. However, achievement increases only slightly as occupational status rises. Social class appears to have a greater effect on the achievement of Irish boys.
3. Educational expectations seem to reflect occupational choices rather than any absolute level of goals in terms of schooling. Teaching as well as nursing are considered feminine occupations.
4. The youth perceive their fathers and mothers as similar in their educational expectations. The expectations of boys are fairly close to the level they report their parents expect. In contrast, many girls expect to go on to additional schooling while their parents expect them to end their education after completing secondary school.
5. There is no evidence that Irish girls deprecate their school performance. The correlation between grades and self-assessment was the same for both sexes, indicating that girls and boys respond with the same degree of accuracy.

6. Non-assertive behavior is associated with poorer school performance for both sexes. With the exception of the youngest age group, girls are significantly more non-assertive than boys. Non-assertive behavior increases for both sexes as adolescents age.
7. Over 60% of Irish adolescents responded in a stereotypic way to the list of achievement-related traits. These characteristics were more likely to be attributed to males. A greater proportion of males stereotype than do females. Analysis by age did not reveal any patterns. These findings are similar to the responses of American youth though Irish adolescents are more likely to stereotype.
8. Boys are more likely than girls to think in traditional terms regarding the adult roles of Irish with respect to work and family. The attitudes of Irish boys remain fairly consistent throughout adolescence while the younger girls hold more traditional views than the older girls. Irish youth are more traditional than their American counterparts but there is greater agreement among Irish boys and girls toward adult roles.

CONCLUSIONS

The achievement patterns of Irish youth are similar to those of American youth. Sex-role related attitudes and behavior vary somewhat in terms of magnitude and patterns from the American sample. The differences were less than this researcher expected considering the roles of adult men and women in the two countries.

Research into adolescent development and achievement in Ireland can make a contribution to the understanding of sex roles in two ways. First, few studies have investigated the influence of the Irish social structure on the

development of children. Even less research has been done examining the relationship of achievement with the variables considered here. The second area is the benefit to the knowledge regarding sex role development and sex differences in American youth that can be achieved through this type of comparative analysis. By going outside the social structure of the United States, we hope to gain a better understanding of the association of sex role development and academic performance in American youth.

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APPENDIX

The following results are based upon a sample of 3000 American students to whom the same 120-item questionnaire was administered. One-third of the students in grades 7 through 12 from three school districts in the Southern Tier of New York State participated. The sample was stratified according to the level of English class. Results from this survey were reported in more depth in Bender, 1976a. Each table here corresponds to a table for the Irish sample.

DISTRIBUTION OF AMERICAN SAMPLE

AGE	MALES	FEMALES
12-13 years	328	375
14 years	290	242
15 years	269	285
16 years	283	298
17+ years	371	305

Table A-1 shows the achievement, measured in grades, of the American youth according to sex and age groupings. Females are superior in average achievement in each age group. Achievement generally declines with age for both sexes, though the decline is greater for adolescent males.

Table A-2 indicates that achievement increases with the rise in social class status, as expected. Females are superior to males in average school performance in every social class.

TABLE A-1

School Achievement by Sex and Age*

AGE	MALES	FEMALES
12-13 years	4.9	5.3
14 years	4.3	4.8
15 years	4.1	4.7
16 years	3.8	4.5
17+ years	4.0	4.8
TOTAL	4.3	4.8

*Scale for grades:

1 - Mostly failing grades
2 - Mostly D's
3 - Mostly C's and D's
4 - Mostly C's
5 - Mostly B's and C's
6 - Mostly B's
7 - Mostly A's and B's
8 - Mostly A's

TABLE A-2

School Achievement by Sex and Social Class

FATHER'S OCCUPATIONAL CLASS	MALES	(n)	FEMALES	(n)
Unskilled	4.0	(75)	4.3	(64)
Semi-skilled	3.6	(164)	4.2	(176)
Skilled	4.0	(225)	4.5	(235)
Clerical, sales, technician	4.4	(296)	4.9	(263)
Administrators, small business owners, semi-professionals	4.5	(231)	5.1	(263)
Business managers, medium business owners, lesser professionals	4.8	(167)	5.3	(169)
Higher executives, major professionals, large proprietors	5.0	(178)	5.6	(199)

TABLE A-3

Educational Expectations by Sex

EXPECTATION LEVEL	MALES	FEMALES
Do not expect to graduate high school	0.9%	0.5%
Graduate high school	22%	22%
Technical or business training after high sch.	18%	16%
Graduate from four-year college	40%	40%
Professional or graduate school after college	20%	20%

The educational expectations for the male and female students are shown in Table A-3. American males and females are nearly the same in their expectations for schooling. (This is discussed further in Bender, 1976b.)

American youth perceive their parents as similar in the educational expectations they hold for their children (Table A-4). The youth appear to have slightly higher expectations for themselves than their parents do in terms of post-college schooling.

TABLE A-4

Perception of Parental Educational Expectations*

How far does your father actually expect you to go in school?

EXPECTATION LEVEL	MALES	FEMALES
Does not expect me to graduate from high school	1%	0.2%
Graduate from high school	23%	24%
Technical or business training after high school	13%	14%
Graduate from four-year college	43%	43%
Professional or graduate school after college	17%	15%

(continued)

TABLE A-4
(continued)

How far does your mother actually expect you to go in school?

EXPECTATION LEVEL	MALES	FEMALES
Does not expect me to graduate from high school	1%	0.3%
Graduate from high school	23%	26%
Technical or business training after college	13%	15%
Graduate from four-year college	46%	43%
Professional or graduate school after college	16%	14%

*Percentages do not add up to 100% because of mothers or fathers not present.

Under-evaluation of one's achievement is suggestive of conflicts between achievement and one's perceived role. American girls rate themselves higher than do boys with respect to school performance. This is consistent with the higher grades that girls receive. Correlations of self-assessment with grades indicate that the sexes are nearly the same in how they rate them-

TABLE A-5

Self-assessment of Achievement

Correlations of Self-assessment with School Grades by Sex and Age

AGE	MALES	FEMALES
12-13 years	.71	.62
14 years	.71	.70
15 years	.70	.69
16 years	.73	.68
17+ years	.65	.66
TOTAL SAMPLE	.70	.67

Average Self-assessment

Males: 2.8 Females: 3.0

$t = 4.86$, $p < .001$

selves when performance is taken into account. Accuracy of self-assessment is fairly consistent among the age groups for both sexes.

Table A-6 shows the relationship between grades and non-assertive behavior. While five of the six correlations are significant, the correlations are generally small.

TABLE A-6

Correlations of Non-assertive Behavior with Grades

BEHAVIOR	MALES	FEMALES
Too shy to raise hand when knows answer	-.09****	.00
Act dumber than you really are	-.14****	-.10****
Give up without really trying hard	-.20****	-.18****

*p < .05
**p < .01
***p < .005
****p < .001

Table A-7 indicates the degree of non-assertiveness using the three items combined into one scale. It is only at the oldest age that girls are not significantly more non-assertive than boys. The mean scores indicate that there is little change for girls as they age in terms of non-assertive behavior. The average scores for the sexes converge as the mean scores for boys increase.

TABLE A-7

Non-assertive Behavior by Sex and Age
(average of 3-item scale)

AGE	MALES	FEMALES	t- value	significance
12-14 years	5.6	6.3	7.42	p < .001
15-16 years	6.0	6.5	4.88	p < .001
17+ years	6.2	6.4	1.39	n.s.

TABLE A-8

Response Frequencies for Stereotypic Thinking Items by Sex

		More Like a Boy	Like Both Equally	More Like a Girl
STRIVING				
	MALES	38%	45%	16%
	FEMALES	27%	55%	19%
COMPETENCE				
	MALES	44%	44%	12%
	FEMALES	21%	58%	21%
INDEPENDENCE				
	MALES	59%	31%	10%
	FEMALES	51%	41%	9%

Approximately half the American sample gives stereotypic answers when asked to respond to traits describing boys and girls. Girls are less likely to stereotype than boys on these traits. The trait of independence elicits a dramatic response in terms of stereotypic thinking. Although American students are less likely to stereotype than their Irish counterparts, the pattern of responding is similar in both countries.

Using the age breakdown shown in Table A-9, we find that there is a tendency for girls to think of these traits as less like boys or girls as they age. During adolescence, boys appear to be more consistent in their stereotypic thinking from one age group to the next.

TABLE A-9

Response Frequencies for Stereotypic Thinking Items by Sex and Age

	More Like a Boy	Like Both Equally	More Like a Girl
STRIVING			
MALES			
12-14 years	41%	42%	17%
15-16 years	37%	46%	17%
17+ years	35%	49%	16%
FEMALES			
12-14 years	29%	49%	22%
15-16 years	24%	58%	19%
17+ years	25%	60%	15%
COMPETENCE			
MALES			
12-14 years	48%	39%	13%
15-16 years	39%	49%	12%
17+ years	44%	43%	12%
FEMALES			
12-14 years	24%	51%	26%
15-16 years	21%	59%	19%
17+ years	16%	68%	15%
INDEPENDENCE			
MALES			
12-14 years	59%	31%	10%
15-16 years	56%	35%	8%
17+ years	63%	31%	6%
FEMALES			
12-14 years	51%	39%	10%
15-16 years	50%	41%	9%
17+ years	50%	43%	7%

TABLE A-10

Attitudes Toward Adult Roles
by Sex and Age

(averages)

	MALES	FEMALES	t - value	significance
"Best for a man to earn money and woman to take care of family"				
12-14 years	2.7	2.1	12.40	$p < .001$
15-16 years	2.6	2.1	10.56	$p < .001$
17+ years	2.7	2.1	8.81	$p < .001$
"Women's work and men's work should be different in nature."				
12-14 years	2.6	2.0	12.20	$p < .001$
15-16 years	2.5	2.0	11.86	$p < .001$
17+ years	2.5	2.1	8.02	$p < .001$
"Mothers should work only if their family needs the money."				
12-14 years	2.6	2.1	9.08	$p < .001$
15-16 years	2.4	2.1	7.93	$p < .001$
17+ years	2.6	2.1	8.79	$p < .001$

American boys are consistently more traditional than girls in their attitudes toward the adult roles of men and women. The views of both sexes are fairly stable throughout adolescence. The attitudes are apparently well learned before the age of 12 and are not currently subject to much influence during the socialization process of adolescence.